THE NEW YORK HERALD.

WHOLE NO. 7298. MORNING EDITION—SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1856. PRICE TWO CENTS.

VERY CURIOUS DOCUMENT.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and James Buchanan.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR ON THE STAND.

The Democratic Nominee Crowded into a Small Corner.

Interesting Facts, Testimony and Reminiscences,

&c., &c., &c.

TO THE PUBLIC.

Mr. Buchanan, through some of his partisans, uses the shadow of a great name to dim the bright original. Andrew Jackson, the child of a Mr. Donelson, adopted because a kin to Mrs. Jackson, is now induced to sign his name to letters given to the press, detracting from the reputation of General Jackson. To make the attempt effectual, the first effort is to impair the standing of the friends to whom he bequeathed the duty of defending his character, whenever unjustly assailed.

Mr. Jackson, who thus lends his name to this impious work, cannot be held entirely accountable. He is a weak minded, credulous, dreamy schemer, forever brooding in silence over visionary projects, with which he cheats himself and does mischief to others; and when awakened to a sense of what he has done is sorry for it. He is inoffensive, quiet, and well disposed to do what he is persuaded to do by those around him; is very willing to oblige, but, from utter want of judgment, is scarcely conscious of what is right for others or good for himself. General Jackson had an excessive tenderness for him. While he loved others attached to him for the ability and energy they exerted in any cause in which he was engaged, he loved "Andrew" more than all, because left to his tenderness by his wife, and because he was helpless and dependent.

While Biddle and his Briareus bank waged war upon him—while Calhoun and his nullification conspiracy endangered the Union—while the giants Clay, Webster and Adams made every step of his administration a struggle—Andrew, although in the prime of life and living in the White House, was unconscious of the strife, and to those around him seemed wholly ignorant that there was in all this anything of importance. Although I was always on familiar and kindly terms with him, and the more so as the business of the White House made it a solitude to him, I do not remember that I ever knew him, in the most exciting times, to open his mouth about politics; and now, for the first time during the twenty-six years I have known him, he, of a sudden, is brought out in Mr. Buchanan's press as a political gladiator, to strike unconsciously the reputation of the father who gave him his fortune, and to destroy the character of one whom he thought most likely to defend it. Now, I hold Mr. Jackson, in every sense, incapable of conceiving, much less executing this attempt; and I shall treat it as the work of Mr. Buchanan and his emissaries. They are the interested parties. They have the motives for the undertaking, and the intrigue developed in the letters having Mr. Jackson's signature is of a piece with all Mr. Buchanan's management.

The pretext for bringing Mr. Jackson before the public as my assailant is to repel this passage given from the letter of General Jackson to Major Lewis:—

Your observations with regard to Mr. Buchanan are correct. He showed a want of moral courage in the affair of the intrigue of Adams and Clay—did not do me justice in the expose he then made, and I am sure about that time did believe there was a perfect understanding between Adams and Clay about the Presidency and the Secretary of State. This I am sure of. But whether he viewed that there was any corruption in the case or not, I know not, but one thing I do know, that he wished me to combat them with their own weapons—that was, let my friends say if I was elected I would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State. This, to me, appeared deep corruption, and I repelled it with that honest indignation as [which] I thought it deserved.

I knew nothing of this publication, nor whence the extract from General Jackson's letter was obtained. Mr. Jackson, and those who obtained his signature to the following comment, knew that the letter quoted from was not written to me, nor furnished by me, but by Major Lewis; yet they so directly pointed at me in their animadversion as to make the inference inevitable to others, that I was derived from me:—

The undersigned, as the adopted son, executor and trusted friend of General Jackson, protests most solemnly against his unscrupulous use of the private and confidential correspondence of his father, and he appeals most confidently to the public to sustain him in this protest; he himself was the repository of most of his father's private papers, and has never consented to the publication of any of them, because he believes that no such edition can be made, with justice to the memory of the deceased, until the men who have served with him have passed from the stage of action. It would, however, be unfair to the feelings of those who may have been touched by the extracts or full letters from General Jackson, heretofore published, to withhold the testimony of the undersigned, that up to the close of his life he entertained for President Polk and Hon. James Buchanan the highest esteem and affection. In many conversations during his declining years, when he freely exercised the freedom of fireside ease, he spoke freely of their eminent services and moral worth; on no occasion did he ever intimate to his family that his confidence in them had abated, or his kindly feelings towards them undergone any change. It is well known to all who were well acquainted with General Jackson that he clung with intense pertinacity to the interests of "those whom he regarded as friends—as some of his dependants, and whom he had raised up by his patronage." These persons frequently (as can and might easily be shown) appealed earnestly to him for assistance in advancing their own schemes and views, even to the close of his life. Whilst suffering under a painful, withering disease, and oppressed with a sense of ingratitude, he would have been more than human if he had not permitted expressions of momentary irritation to creep into private letters; and the fault of the expression was not in him who wrote, but rather in those whom he unwisely trusted.

The letter of General Jackson in regard to Mr. Buchanan, written in February, 1845, (dated 28th,) extracts of which have been published, is perfectly in character with any one of the letters written under the circumstances above alluded to, and did not contain any deliberate conviction of his mind, as is simply shown by his cordial treatment of Mr. Buchanan during his whole administration—his appointment to Russia—his subsequent recommendation of him to others—and the fireside conversations with his family to which I have before alluded.

It is not in accordance with the usages of the old gentleman to interfere in the political conflicts of the day, or to do anything further than to protect the reputation and fame of his father, and preserve the consistency and harmony of a character dear to the whole American people.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Although this was expressly applied to me by the administration organ at Washington, yet, as my name was not used in it, and I saw that the object was to embroil me with Mr. Jackson, for whom I felt great kindness, and who was considered by me the unwitting instrument of artful intriguers, I concluded not to notice it. The contrivers, on this failure, induced Mr. Jackson then to put out this direct attack:—

Gen. Jackson, in one of his wills and testaments, had left his papers and documents to his friend, Major John H. Eaton, but subsequently changed it to Mr. Blair. In speaking of his papers, he often asked me if I would like to take charge of them. My reply was, that I was young and inexperienced, and would greatly prefer, if it met his judgment, to have them left to an old friend of his family, Mr. Blair. Very soon after, Mr. Amos Kendall came on to the General, and solicited the loan of sufficient of his letters and papers to compile his history and life. The request was acceded to with pleasure, and the most important of his papers and documents were handed over to Mr. Kendall, and the balance would have been sent on to him afterwards but for the arrival of Mr. Blair. Mr. Blair questioned the General about his papers, and he told him of the use Mr. Kendall was putting them to, stating that if he would leave them with him he would carefully arrange them for Mr. Bancroft; that he (Blair) had retired from politics to the shades of Silver Springs, and would guard scrupulously the sacredness of his memory and fame. My father with pleasure consented, and directed me after his decease to forward all of the important documents retained to Mr. Blair, except some private and confidential correspondence, which I was instructed to reserve. Mr. Kendall still retains all the papers which he received, and Mr. Blair some of less importance. General Jackson requested Mr. Kendall to retain the papers he had in his possession until he completed his life and history. It was no reflection upon any of General Jackson's immediate family that such a disposition of his papers was made. It would have seemed indelicate in them to have made the use of them that others might very properly have done.

In conclusion, I respectfully ask the public to observe why this vindictive personal abuse of me, and for what purpose. Simply because I deemed it proper and right, in justice to the reputation, memory, and fame of my father, when I saw the abuse that Mr. Blair had made of private documents, and the scandalous misuse of the following extract from one of my father's private and confidential letters to a supposed friend, published in "the *Republican Banner*, written February 28, 1845, some few months before his death, I saw proper to remonstrate in a public manner against it.

This story confutes itself—my visit to the Hermitage was in the spring of 1843. I had not then "retired from politics to the shades of Silver Spring." I was in the midst of that struggle against the Tyler administration which I hoped would result in the restoration of Mr. Van Buren and the democracy to power. I had no expectation then of retiring to private life, or of having leisure "carefully to arrange" General Jackson's papers for Mr. Bancroft. At the suggestion of Mr. Van Buren, in 1836, I mentioned Mr. Bancroft, the historian of the United States, to General Jackson as one who, if he had access to his papers, would make them useful to the history of the country, and connect with it a memoir of his life, which would make imperishable the public labors to which it had been devoted. General Jackson told me in reply, then, that he had promised the use of his paper to Mr. Kendall for the work I proposed for Mr. Bancroft.

When I went to the Hermitage in 1843, seven years after this conversation, I knew Mr. Kendall had these papers in his possession, and the thought of obtaining them for Mr. Bancroft, which was dismissed in 1836, could not, under such circumstances, have occurred. I am certain that nothing was said during my stay at the Hermitage in reference to changing the disposition of the papers already made by General Jackson, and it will be seen by the terms of the bequest made in 1845 to me, years after my visit, that there is no reference in it to the temporary use of them granted to Mr. Kendall, or that suggested to assist Mr. Bancroft's historical labors.

The General closes his letter of the 9th of April, 1845, (commenting on the intrigue by which Mr. Calhoun and his friends, combining with Messrs. Polk, Buchanan and others, had defeated Mr. Van Buren's nomination at Baltimore, and concerted to supplant the *Globe* by a nullifying organ at Washington,) thus:—

This may be the last letter I may be able to write you; but live or die, I am your friend, (and never deserted one from policy,) and leave my papers and reputation in your keeping. As far as justice is due to my fame, I know you will shield it. I ask no more. I rest upon truth, and require nothing but what truth will mete to me. All my household join me in kind wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of all your family; and that you may triumph over all enemies. May God's choicest blessings be bestowed upon you and yours through life, is the prayer of your sincere friend.

F. P. BLAIR, Esq. ANDREW JACKSON.

This letter, given at length in that addressed by me to the New York meeting in April last, exposing the conspiracy which severed the Jackson democracy and created a Southern sectional party to rule the confederacy, shows on the face of it the motives which induced General Jackson to consign his papers to me. He saw in the course held by the government against the political organ he had established at Washington, that it would pass into the hands of his enemies. Having confidence in my fidelity, and seeing me stripped of the influence which the position he had conferred gave, to support his principles, he bequeathed his papers to me, and the charge to defend his cause and his character.

This trust makes it my duty to expose the effort now made by Mr. Buchanan's partisan press, the Nashville *Union*, associated with its ally, the official organ at Washington, to impair the confidence of the country in General Jackson's exalted character for veracity. The principal agent in this attempt, as I learn from a letter in reply to one written to obtain the information, is the Hon. Cave Johnson, Mr. Buchanan's colleague in Mr. Polk's Cabinet. This is confirmed by an extract given in the official organ from a letter of this gentleman, by which it appears he would excuse the attack made on Gen. Jackson's integrity by saying, "I shall not believe that he (General Jackson) ever so expressed himself until I see the letter in his own handwriting;" and yet he urges on the adopted son of General Jackson to publish his views in derogation of General Jackson's written testimony, without venturing to look at it to see if it is "in his own handwriting," although invited to do so. I give in advance to Mr. Buchanan's colleague the same invitation in respect to all the manuscript evidence I have used, or may hereafter use, to defend him against his traducers. The assailant takes yet another and more successful mode of escaping the odium of impeaching the memory of a great man, by using his own illustrious name to sanction its degradation. It is like using the feather from the eagle's wing to give flight to the shaft that reaches him in the zenith, and brings him to the earth.

The paper prepared to bring down General Jackson's fame from its height opens with a solemn formula, which seems designed to make the impression that he had commissioned his adopted namesake to sign the death warrant for his memory after the body was laid in the grave:—

The undersigned, as the adopted son, executor and trusted friend of General Jackson, protests most solemnly against this unscrupulous use of the private and confidential correspondence of his father, and he appeals most confidently to the public to sustain him in this protest; he himself was the repository of most of his father's private papers, and has never consented to the publication of any of them, because he believes that no such addition can be made with justice to the memory of the deceased until the men who served with him have passed from the stage of action.

This protest insinuates what "the adopted son, executor, and trusted friend of General Jackson" is drawn out to prove, while he is made to deprecate it:—

He never consented to the publication of any of his father's private papers, because he believes no such addition can be made with justice to the memory of the deceased, until the men who served with him have passed from the stage of action.

Does not this intimate that General Jackson in his private papers has said of those who served with him that which cannot bear the light while they live to repel it? And then the "adopted son and trusted friend" is made to say that his father, "in the full freedom of fireside ease," "and in many conversations," had said that he had "the highest esteem and affection for Mr. Buchanan," and spoke freely of "his eminent services and moral worth," while his letters, written with his own hand, and when he felt the hand of death upon him, re-affirm, after twenty years of calm consideration, what he had publicly pronounced to be his deliberate conviction in regard to Mr. Buchanan's conduct in 1825. And what he denounced to Mr. Buchanan himself, when he made the proposal, to be "such means of bargain and corruption he would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with them," rather than use, he adhered to at the close of his life; and yet the "adopted son and trusted friend" is made to say that the same sentiment as to Mr. Buchanan's conduct, expressed twenty years later by him in a letter to Major Lewis, is not "the deliberate conviction of his mind," that when the General wrote that Mr. Buchanan was capable of "deep corruption" in regard to the chief magistracy of his country, he was in his fireside conversations extolling Mr. Buchanan's "moral worth." He is made artfully to imply that the publication of General Jackson's confidential correspondence was a breach of trust, revealing this contradiction when it was only so upon the supposition that the adopted son's oral account of the General's real estimate of Mr. Buchanan's character is the only true one, and not the written statement under his own hand.

He is made to claim for himself the right of being what he calls "the repository" of General Jackson's papers, when he knows that they were bequeathed to me, and that he wrote to me immediately on the General's death that it was his dying order to him, as executor, to deliver them over to me, and that if he retains any of them he violates that injunction, and is himself guilty of a breach of trust. They make him charge it as "an abuse that Mr. Blair had made of private documents," although they were exclusively of public interest, and when the first publication of them was made it was accompanied with this express permission:—

If any of my opinions may be useful to sustain the great republican cause, and open the eyes of the people to their best interests in bringing back the administration of our government to the real reading and principles of the constitution as explained and practised by the sages who founded it, it is due from me to the people that my opinions, if desired, should be known to them.

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Sincerely your friend, ANDREW JACKSON.

To F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

The publication of what he wrote about the intrigue which defeated his election in the House of Representatives, Mr. Colton, in his life of Clay, shows, was directly invited by him, in a card to the Nashville *Union*, closing with these words:—

If General Hamilton or any one else has a letter from me on this subject, all they have to do is to apply to him for it. As for myself, I have no secrets and do not fear the publication of all I have ever written on this or any other subject.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Although I had not the least agency in producing this evidence of General Jackson's dissatisfaction with Mr. Buchanan—did not, indeed, know of the existence of the letter—its publication, and the attempt to discredit it by drawing up insiduous statements for the signature of an adopted son, to prove that the father had expressed opinions entirely incompatible with his written declarations made at the same time, calls on me to examine whether General Jackson's written averment is not sustained by the history of the transaction referred to, and whether the suggestions put into the mouth of the adopted son, when tested by it, can avail to weigh down the veracity of the father, and to place Mr. Buchanan's above it. I will array recorded facts and a train of undisputed circumstances, apart from General Jackson's own testimony, which establish every assertion of his letter to Major Lewis.

I feel more imperatively called to the discussion of this subject, because Mr. Colton, in his Life of Clay, published since Gen. Jackson's death, has given a most unjust and distorted view of it, to tarnish the General's fame, founding his argument on the corrupt proposals said to have been made by Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Clay, but which the latter, at the "earnest entreaty" of the former, kept profoundly a secret while the General lived. From Mr. Colton's own book I will collect a succinct statement of all the testimony bearing on the essential points, which will show how thoroughly General Jackson stands vindicated as regards Mr. Clay, and how perfectly he is justified in the opinion entertained of Mr. Buchanan, although kept in absolute ignorance of the remarkable overture of Mr. Buchanan, proposing the Premiership to Mr. Clay, on the contingency of General Jackson's election. Without encumbering this paper with the arguments of any of the parties to this controversy, I will give the issues, as made between the principals, and the statements of the individuals out of whose action the controversy grew. The testimony of these parties, as copied by Mr. Colton, from the authentic documents put into his hands by Mr. Clay, amply vindicate General Jackson.

It is not my purpose to inculpate Mr. Clay. The grave has closed over him and General Jackson, and should close the contest between the rivals which they chose to wage in person. But the originator of the feud, who survives and uses the pliable namesake of one of them to lend him the support of his name to damage the reputation of the man whom he should venerate as a father, can claim no such immunity. The political intriguer, whose approaches General Jackson, in his own emphatic manner, rebuked at the instant, must now meet the General's reiterated reprobation, inscribed by his own hand in his dying hour, written to a distant friend, not with reports and hearsays from his fireside in which he is made to contradict himself, but by an appeal to the recorded facts on which Gen. Jackson founded his opinions. Here is the history of the events written out by the actors in them:—

Carter Beverly, being on a visit to the Hermitage, with other Virginians, interrogated Gen. Jackson as to the overtures made to obtain his promise of the State Department, to secure votes for himself as President.

Gen. Jackson then related the circumstances attending Mr. Buchanan's application to him, repeating the conversation between them. Mr. Beverly, in a letter to a friend in North Carolina, immediately reported what Gen. Jackson had said. This being disputed, Mr. Beverly appealed to Gen. Jackson for a written statement. It is thus quoted in Colton's "Life of Clay":—

HERMITAGE, June 6, 1827.

Early in January, 1825, a member of Congress of high respectability visited me one morning and observed that he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on, and that it was right I should be informed of it; that he came as a friend; and let me receive the communication as I might the friendly motives through which it was made he hoped would prevent any change in friendship or feeling in regard to him. To which I replied:—From his high standing, as a gentleman and member of Congress, and from his uniform friendly and gentlemanly conduct toward myself, I could not suppose he would make any communication to me which he supposed was improper; therefore, his motives being pure, let me think as I might of the communication, my feelings towards him would remain unaltered. The gentleman proceeded—He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in the aid of Mr. Adams' election Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State; that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging, as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I were elected, President, Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State, (inuendo, there would be no room for Kentucky;) that the friends of Mr. Clay stated the West did not wish to separate from the West, and if I would say, or permit any of my confidential friends to say, that in case I were elected President, Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends they would put me into the Presidential contest in one hour. And that he (Mr. Clay) had a ready decided in his right such intrigues with their own weapons. To which, in substance, I replied, that in politics, as in everything else, my guide was principle; and contrary to the expressed and unbiassed will of the people, I never would step into the Presidential chair; and requested him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends (for I did suppose he had come from) Mr. Clay, although he used the term "Mr. Clay's friends" that before I would reach the Presidential chair by such means as of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends and myself with them. If they had not confidence enough in me to believe, if I were elected, that I would call to my aid in the Cabinet men of the first virtue, talent and integrity, not to vote for me. The second day after this communication and reply, it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Clay had come out openly and avowedly in favor of Mr. Adams. It may be proper to observe that, on the supposition that Mr. Clay was not privy to the proposition stated, I may have done injustice to him. If so, the gentleman informing me can explain. I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant, ANDREW JACKSON,

Mr. CARTER BEVERLEY.

This was shown to Mr. Clay's friends at Wheeling, being received the night preceding Mr. Clay's arrival there, and was put into his hands by them the next morning. On Mr. Clay's arrival at Lexington, Kentucky, whither he was going, he put out a card denying what he called the charges of Gen. Jackson. He said:—

General Jackson having at last voluntarily placed himself in the attitude of my public accuser, we are now fairly at issue. I rejoice that a specific accusation, by a responsible accuser, has at length appeared, though at the distance of nearly two years and a half since the charge was first put forth through Mr. George Kremer. It will be universally admitted that the accusation is of the most serious nature. Hardly any more atrocious could be preferred against the representative of the people in his official character. The charge in substance is, that deliberate propositions of bargain were made by my Congressional friends collectively, through an authorised and distinguished member of Congress, to Gen. Jackson; that their object was, by these "means of bargain and corruption," to exclude Mr. Adams from the Department of State, or to secure my promotion to office, and that I was privy and assented to these propositions and to the employment of those means.

Such being the accusation, and the prosecutor and the issue between us, I have now a right to expect that he will substantiate his charges by the exhibition of satisfactory evidence. In that event, there is no punishment that would exceed the measure of my offence. In the opposite event, what ought to be the judgment of the American public is cheerfully submitted to their wisdom and justice, H. CLAY.

LEXINGTON, 28th June, 1827.

In reply to this General Jackson denied that he was an accuser but simply the narrator of facts in reference to the disposition of Mr. Clay and his friends as to the Presidential election, coming from a source on which he had reliance—he repeated the information thus derived and then gives the proof of it demanded by Mr. Clay in this paragraph:—

This disclosure was made to me by Mr. James Buchanan, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, a gentleman of the first respectability and intelligence. The evening before he had communicated substantially the same proposition to Major Eaton, my colleague in the Senate, with a desire, warmly manifested, that he should communicate with me, and ascertain my views on the subject. This he declined doing, suggesting to Mr. Buchanan that he, as well as himself, could converse with me and ascertain my opinion on the matter—though, from his knowledge of me, he thought he could conjecture my answer, that I would enter into no engagement whatever. It was the morning succeeding this interview, after Mr. Eaton had communicated with me on the subject, and before I had set out from my lodgings to the Capitol, that Mr. Buchanan came to visit me, and where the conversation I have stated took place. The answer returned has already been published, and need not be here repeated. * * *

Under all the circumstances, appearing at the time, I did not resist the impression that Mr. Buchanan had approached me, on the cautiously submitted proposition of some authorized person; and, therefore, in giving him my answer, did request him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends what that answer had been. Whether the communication was made to Mr. Clay and his friends I know not. This, though, I do know, that while the opinions and conduct of Mr. Clay as to the election were but matter of conjecture with many, at and before this time, very shortly after this conversation took place, his and his friends' opinions became forthwith matter of certainty and general knowledge. Still, I have not said, nor do I now say, that the proposal made to me was with the "privity and consent" of Mr. Clay; neither have I said that his friends in Congress made propositions to me. Clay. * * *

HERMITAGE, July 18, 1827. ANDREW JACKSON.

Mr. Buchanan thus called out, replied in the Lancaster *Journal*, and after stating that he was prompted in his movements by a rumor "that General Jackson had determined, should he be elected President, to continue Mr. Adams Secretary of State," he comes to the point put in issue, and thus relates the circumstances which brought him with his proposals to General Jackson:—

In the month of December, 1824, a short time after the commencement of the session of Congress I heard, among other rumors then in circulation, that General Jackson had determined, should he be elected President, to continue Mr. Adams Secretary of State. Although I felt certain he had never intimated such an intention, yet I was sensible that nothing could be better calculated, both to cool the ardor of his friends and inspire his enemies with confidence, than the belief that he had a decided preference for the occupant of the highest office within his gift. I thought General Jackson owed it to himself and to the cause in which his political friends were engaged, to contradict this report; and to declare that he would not appoint to that office the man, however worthy he might be, who stood at the head of the most formidable part of his political enemies. These being my impressions, I addressed a letter to a confidential friend in Pennsylvania, then and still high in office, and exalted in character, and one who had ever been the decided advocate of General Jackson's election, requested his opinion and advice upon the subject. I received his answer, dated the 27th of December, 1824, upon the 29th, which is now before me, and which strengthened and confirmed my previous opinion. I then finally determined, either that I would ask General Jackson myself, or get another of his friends to ask him, whether he ever declared he would appoint Mr. Adams his Secretary of State. In this manner I hoped a contradiction of the report might be obtained from him or he might probably declare it was not his intention to appoint Mr. Adams.

A short time previous to the receipt of the letter to which I have referred, my friend Mr. Marley and myself got into conversation, as we very often did, both before and after, upon the subject of the Presidential election, and concerning the person who would probably be selected by General Jackson to fill the office of Secretary of State. I feel sincerely sorry that I am compelled thus to introduce his name, but I do so with the least reluctance because it has already, without any agency of mine, found its way into the newspapers in connection with this transaction.

Mr. Markley adverted to the rumor, which I have mentioned, and said it was calculated to injure the General. He observed that Mr. Clay's friends were warmly attached to him, and that he thought they would endeavor to act in concert with him at the election; that if they did so they would either elect Mr. Adams or General Jackson at their pleasure, but that many of them would never agree to vote for the latter, if they knew he had predetermined to prefer another to Mr. Clay for the first office in the gift of the people; that friends of Mr. Adams had already been holding out the idea, that in case he were elected, Mr. Clay might, probably, be offered the situation of Secretary of State.

I told Mr. Markley that I felt confident General Jackson had never said he would appoint Mr. Adams Secretary of State, and I knew he had not by hinting or conversing upon the subject of the election; and if he were, whatever might be his secret intention, he had more prudence than to make such a declaration. I mentioned to him that I had been thinking, either that I would call upon the General myself, or get one of his other friends to do so, and thus endeavor to get from him a contradiction of the report, although I doubted whether he would take the trouble of noticing it.

Mr. Markley urged me to do so; and observed if General Jackson had not determined whom he would appoint Secretary of State, and should say that it would not be Adams, it might be of great advantage to our cause for us so to declare, upon his own authority. We should then be placed upon the same footing with the Adams men, and might fight them with their own weapons. That if Mr. Clay's friends, he said, naturally prefer voting for a Western man, if there was a probability that the claims of Mr. Clay to the second office in the government should be fairly estimated; and that if they thought proper to vote for General Jackson, they could soon decide the contest in his favor.

A short time after this conversation, on the 30th of December, 1824, I met Mr. Clay in the street, not only from my own recollection, but from letters which I wrote on that day, on the day following, and on the 24 of January, 1825,) I called upon General Jackson. After the company had left him, by which I found him surrounded, he asked me to take a walk with him; and while we were walking together upon the street, I introduced the subject. I told him I wished to ask him a question in relation to the Presidential election—that I knew he was unwilling to converse upon the subject; that, therefore, if he deemed the question improper he might refuse to give it an answer; that my only motive in asking it was friendship for him, and I trusted he would excuse me for introducing a subject about which I knew he wished to be silent.

His reply was complimentary to myself, and accompanied with a request that I would proceed. I then stated to him there was a report in circulation, that he had determined he would appoint Mr. Adams Secretary of State, in case he were elected President, and that I wished to ascertain from him whether he had ever intimated such an intention; that he must at once see the importance it would give his friends if he could; that no doubt there were several able and ambitious men in the country, among whom I thought Mr. Clay might be included, who were aspiring to that office; and, if it were believed he had already determined to appoint his chief competitor, it might have a most unhappy effect upon their exertions and those of their friends; that, unless he had not decided, this report should be suffered to go on uncontradicted under his own authority.

I mentioned it had already done him some injury, and proceeded to relate to him the substance of the conversation I had held with Mr. Markley. I do not remember whether I mentioned his name, or merely described him as a friend of Mr. Clay. After I had finished, the General declared he had not the least objection to answer my question that he thought well of Mr. Adams, but had never said or intimated, that he would, or would not appoint him Secretary of State; that these were secrets he would keep to himself—he would conceal them from the very hairs of his head; that if he believed his right hand knew what he had left would do on the subject of appointments to office, he would cut it off and cast it into the fire; that if ever he should be elected President, it would be without solicitation and without intrigue on his part; that he would then go into office perfectly free and untrammelled, and would be left at perfect liberty to fill the offices of the government with the men whom, at the time, he believed to be the ablest and most honest in the country.

I told him that his answer to my question was such a one as I had expected to receive, if he answered it at all; and that I had not sought to obtain it for my own satisfaction. I then asked him if I were at liberty to repeat his answer. He said, I was at perfect liberty to do so, to any person I thought proper. I need scarcely remark that I afterwards availed myself of the privilege. The conversation upon this topic here ended, and in all our intercourse since, whether personally or in the course of our correspondence, General Jackson never once adverted to the subject, prior to the date of his letter to Mr. Beverly.

I do not recollect that General Jackson told me I might repeat his answer to Henry Clay and his friends; though I should be sorry to say he did not. The whole conversation being upon a public street, it might have escaped my observation.

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LANCASTER, August 8, 1827. JAMES BUCHANAN.

Mr. Markley, the party referred to by Mr. Buchanan as the friend of Mr. Clay, states that Mr. Buchanan came to his room, he believes, but cannot say with certainty, on the 30th December, 1824. He was alone, and repeats what Mr. Buchanan says about his solicitude for General Jackson, and the rumors about his making Mr. Adams his secretary, and then continued his account of Mr. Buchanan's conversation, thus:—

Mr. Buchanan stated that he had written to, or received a letter from, a mutual friend of ours in Pennsylvania, on the subject of the Presidential election and cabinet appointments, and that he had determined to call upon the General himself, prior to get Major Eaton to mention to him the reports that were in circulation, and obtain, if he could, a contradiction of them. Mr. Buchanan also asked if I had seen Mr. Clay, and whether I had any conversation with him touching the Presidential election. I replied that I had seen him in the house, but had had no conversation with him on that subject; but said I was anxious to get an opportunity to have a conversation with him, as I felt a great anxiety that he should vote with Pennsylvania. Mr. Buchanan replied that no one felt more anxious, for various reasons, than he did himself; that it was important not only for the success of General Jackson's election that Mr. Clay should go with Pennsylvania, but on account of his ulterior political prospects—declaring that he (Mr. Buchanan) hoped to see Mr. Clay Secretary of the United States, and that was another reason why he should like to see Mr. Clay Secretary of State, in case General Jackson was elected; and that, if he were certain that Mr. Clay's views were favorable to Gen. Jackson's election, he would take an opportunity of talking with General Jackson on the subject, or get Major Eaton to do so; that he thought by doing so he would confer a particular benefit on his country, and that he could see nothing wrong in it. Mr. Buchanan urged me to use no delay in seeing Mr. Clay. I told him I would, and accordingly called upon Mr. Clay, at his boarding house, I think the evening after this conversation; but he was not at his lodgings. I called to see him again, but he had some of his friends with him, and I had no opportunity of conversing with him, nor had I ever any conversation with him, until the evening of the 10th or 11th of January, prior to my leaving Washington for Pennsylvania, to attend the courts in Montgomery county. The conversation I then had with him was of a very general character. No mention was made of cabinet appointments, and I did not ascertain which of the candidates Mr. Clay would support.

I have no recollection of anything being said, in the conversation with Mr. Buchanan, about the friends of Mr. Clay moving in concert at the election. I, however, distinctly recollect that we both expressed an anxious hope that the West would not separate from Pennsylvania. I have no recollection whatever of having urged Mr. B. to see General Jackson, although I concurred in the propriety of his suggestion, that he should call to see him. Nor have I the faintest recollection of anything being said about fighting Mr. Adams's friends with their own weapons. If any such expression were used, I am very certain it was not by me. From the recollection I have of the conversation to which Mr. Buchanan has reference, in his letter to the public of the 8th of August last, my impressions are, that the object of his visit that evening was to urge the propriety of my seeing Mr. Clay and to give him my views as to the importance of his identifying himself with Pennsylvania in support of General Jackson. I entertained no doubt that Mr. Buchanan was honestly determined, that no exertions on his part should be wanting, and that he felt confident he could speak with certainty as to the great mass of General Jackson's friends, that, in case of the election of General Jackson, they would press upon him the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State.

Mr. Buchanan concurred with me in opinion that Pennsylvania would prefer Mr. Clay's appointment to that of any other person as Secretary of State, and from the obligation the General was under to Pennsylvania, that he would go far to gratify her wishes, and that, therefore, he believed the General, if elected, would appoint Mr. Clay.

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PHILIP S. MARKLEY.

Philadelphia, October 30, 1827.

Here is Major Eaton's testimony touching the application made by Mr. Buchanan to him to sound General Jackson as to his willingness to tender the office of Secretary of State as a make-weight in his Presidential scale:—

In January, 1825, a few days before it had been known that Mr. Clay and his friends had declared in favor of Mr. Adams, I was called upon by Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. He said it was pretty well ascertained that overtures were making by the friends of Adams on the subject of Cabinet appointments; that Jackson should fight them with their own weapons. He said the opinion was that Jackson would retain Adams, and that it was doing him an injury; that the General should state whom he would make Secretary of State, and desired that I would name it to him. My reply was, that I was satisfied General Jackson would say nothing on the subject. Mr. Buchanan then remarked, "Well, if he will merely say he will not retain Mr. Adams, that will answer." I replied, I was satisfied General Jackson would neither say who should, nor should not, be Secretary of State, but that he (Mr. Buchanan) knew him well, and might talk with him as well as I could. Mr. Buchanan then said, that on the next day, before the General went to the Senate, he would call. He did so, as I afterwards understood. * * * * * * *

JOHN H. EATON.

FRANKLIN, Tennessee, September 12, 1827.

It is clearly established, from Mr. Buchanan's own cautious studiously-guarded, constrained admissions—from the statement of Mr. Markley, whom he calls his friend and the friend of Mr. Clay in the transaction—from the testimony of Major Eaton, which was drawn up by him and put into Mr Buchanan's hands the year before the latter explained himself upon the subject—that Mr. Buchanan was the prime mover of the intrigue which General Jackson's frank declaration of the attempt made on him coerced to a development. From Mr. Buchanan's own showing it is manifest that he had a confidential correspondence with a friend in Pennsylvania on the subject of bringing the premiership to bear on the Presidential election—a correspondence which, while he admits its importance, he withholds from the public. It appears that this "determined" him to act on Gen. Jackson with a view to make the Secretary's appointment give direction to the Presidential election. It appears that he sought Mr. Markley at his own room, and, as Mr. Clay's friend, asked his cooperation in the scheme, and urged him "to use no delay in seeing Mr. Clay." That the object (of Mr. Buchanan's) visit (to Mr. Markley) that evening was to urge the propriety of his seeing Mr. Clay and to give him his view as to the importance of his identifying himself with Pennsylvania in support of General Jackson, and that his (Mr. Buchanan's) solicitude "was on account of his (Mr. Clay's) ulterior political prospects—declaring that he (Mr. Buchanan) hoped to see Mr. Clay President of the United States, and that was another reason why he should like to see Mr. Clay Secretary of State in case General Jackson was elected."

It appears that Mr. Buchanan also attempted to enlist Major Eaton as the friend of General Jackson, in carrying his point with him; that he urged on him "that it was pretty well ascertained that overtures were making by the friends of Mr. Adams on the subject of Cabinet appointments—that Jackson should fight them with their own weapons."

It appears that Major Eaton declined the service proposed, and that Mr. Markley failed, after making three attempts, to accomplish anything favorable to Mr. Buchanan's designs with Mr. Clay. It appears that Mr. Buchanan then made his movement immediately and personally on both Mr. Clay and General Jackson. It is now revealed and in a written statement made by Mr. Clay, and given in Mr. Colton's Life of Clay, published while Mr. Clay lived, but since General Jackson's death, that Mr. Buchanan undertook the task of ascertaining how Mr. Clay would receive the tender made by him of the premiership in a Jackson cabinet. This account of the long suppressed secret overture on the part of Mr. Buchanan, testing Mr. Clay's inclinations, is marked throughout by italics, in the volume, to distinguish from statements made by the author of the work:—

Some time in January, 1825, and not long before the election of President of the United States by the House of Representatives, the Hon. James Buchanan, a member of the House, and afterwards many years a Senator of the United States, from Pennsylvania, who had been a zealous and influential supporter of General Jackson in the preceding canvass, and was supposed to enjoy his unbounded confidence, called at the lodgings of Mr. Clay, in the city of Washington. Mr. Clay was at that time in the room of his only messmate in the house, his intimate and confidential friend, the Hon. R. P. Letcher, then Governor of Kentucky, then also a member of the House. Shortly after Mr. Buchanan's entry into the room, he introduced the subject of the approaching Presidential election, and spoke of the certainty of the election of his favorite, adding, that "he would form the most splendid Cabinet that the country had ever had." Mr. Letcher asked, "How could he have one more distinguished than that of Mr. Jefferson, in which were both Madison and Gallatin?" "Where would he be able to find equally eminent men?" Mr. Buchanan replied, that "He would not go out of this room for a Secretary of State," looking at Mr. Clay. This gentleman (Mr. Clay) playfully remarked, that "he thought there was no timber there fit for a cabinet officer, unless it were Mr. Buchanan himself."

Mr. Clay, while he was so hotly assailed with the charge of bargain, intrigue and corruption, during the administration of Mr. Adams, notified Mr. Buchanan of his intention to publish the above occurrence; but by the earnest entreaties of that gentleman he was induced to forbear doing so.

The author has understood that, several times in later years, it has been intimated to Mr. Buchanan that it might be his (Mr. Clay's) duty to publish these facts, and that he was dissuaded from it by Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Colton yet retains the manuscript, in Mr. Clay's handwriting, and to which "Mr. Clay appended a note, advising him (Mr. Colton) to apply to Governor Letcher for further information. He accordingly addressed Governor Letcher, and found his lips sealed by a pledge of silence given to Mr. Buchanan."

Governor Letcher applied to Mr. Buchanan, in 1844, to be released from this pledge, which he declined in a letter, re-stating his promise, and insisting on his honor to observe it, in these words:—

The publication, then, of this private conversation could serve no other purpose than to embarrass me, and force me prominently into the pending contest—which I desire to avoid.

You are certainly correct in your recollection. "You told me explicitly that you did not feel at liberty to give the conversation alluded to, and would not do so under any circumstances, without my express permission." In this you have acted, as you have ever done, like a man of honor and principle.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

The late contribution of M